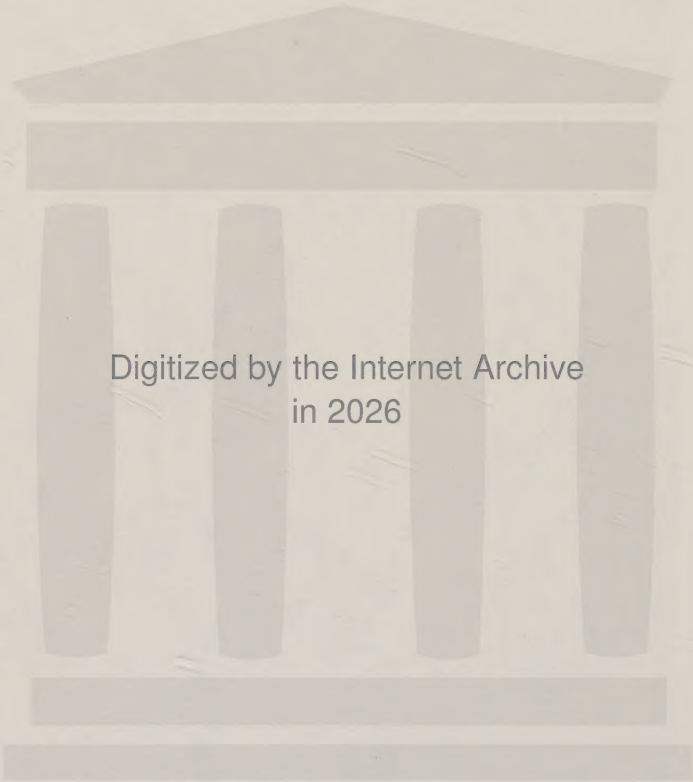
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A NEW APPROACH TO AMERICAN HISTORY

STUDENTS' GUIDE SHEETS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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STUDENTS' GUIDE SHEETS

By D. C. BAILEY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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PREFACE

In a recent report of the president of Harvard University may be found the following statement:

> Anyone who has taught Freshmen is aware that they cannot read books. They can read passages, and understand the meaning of particular things when pointed out to them; but they have not the habit of sustained mental self-direction that will enable them to follow the thread of an author's thought for a considerable time. The result is that the college begins, and unfortunately often continues, to teach them by methods appropriate to the secondary schools.

In these trenchant sentences there is the unfortunate implication that methods of teaching which generate such well-known inabilities in college students are appropriate to the secondary school. They are inappropriate at any level of the educational process at which learning must be done through study. The passage which is quoted means simply that Freshmen have not learned to study; they have learned to get lessons. The outcome is a great deal worse for pupils who do not go to college than it is for those who do. If high school pupils learn what study is and how to use books for other purposes than cursory reading, they do well. If they fail to learn how to study, the rest of their schooling will be of little worth.

Mr. Bailey has accomplished the essential task, in that he has shown the way in which a senior high school course in American history must be organized in order that true study may become possible for pupils at that level. He gives us an example of a course put together in its significant and comprehensive unit learnings, with each such unit adequately assembled in its necessary elements and framework for study. The rest is for the teacher and the pupils; and hard work is mapped out for each. There is no easy method of learning, and the pupil will neither learn history nor learn to study merely by being exposed to the *Guide Sheets*.

In the Presentations, the pupils' intelligence is not insulted by "talking down." Both the content and the style are such as would

be used in writing for mature, educated persons. This is as it should be. The pupil is presumably learning to be just that kind of individual.

I have read many of the papers which have been written in class by pupils who are in process of this kind of training and who have been using these particular *Guide Sheets*—both papers on the problems and written recitations. I have been delighted by the coherent composition and genuine insight which the papers have exhibited. I should have been glad to get papers in my own college classes as good as some of them were.

And so pupils learn to become students. Nevertheless, though boys and girls have been so trained in methods which are appropriate to the secondary school, many of them will be likely quickly to revert to their old lesson-getting ways if they encounter college teachers who know no others. They are seldom intellectually mature at eighteen years of age.

HENRY C. MORRISON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
January, 1927

FOREWORD TO TEACHERS

The guide sheets for American history which appear in this publication represent some four years of thinking and experimentation in connection with the principles of teaching set forth in Morrison's *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School.* They were originally designed by the author for use in his own classes. They are published with the thought that they may offer suggestions to other teachers who are struggling with the problem of making history more real, more vital, and therefore more worth while to the young people who come under their influence. The guide sheets have been so organized that they may be put into the hands of the pupils if the teacher so desires. The meaning of the unit which is the basis of these guide sheets and the teaching procedure which should be used with them are fully and clearly explained in Professor Morrison's book.

The six aims in this approach to the study of American History have been developed in the respective units as follows:

Unit I.—Through the study and interpretation of the Renaissance, to develop an understanding of how America came to be discovered and of how its discovery was an inevitable consequence of the expansion of European life during the fifteenth century.

Unit II.—Through the study of our expanding frontier, to develop an understanding of how our institutions, our ideals, and our traditions have been built up.

Unit III.—Through the study of the American Revolution and the revolution of the Spanish-American colonies, to develop an understanding of why it was inevitable that most of the Western Hemisphere should break away from Europe and pursue its own destiny in its own way.

Unit IV.—Through the study of the experiences of our country under the "Articles of Confederation," to develop an understanding of how the Constitution came to be created.

Unit V.—Through the study of the experiences of the United

States under the Constitution, to develop an understanding of how effectively it has met the various tests to which it has been subjected, and to gain the realization that the mistakes which have been made under it have been largely due to the weaknesses of human nature rather than to defects in the structure of the government.

Unit VI.—Through the study of the development of the Industrial Revolution in the United States, to gain an understanding of the environment in which we are living today.

The guide sheets are divided into six major parts: the presentation, the outline of the assimilative material, a series of problems focused on the understanding involved in the unit, a series of maps, a group of special projects, and a list of references—all of which are essential to the building up of the understanding involved in the unit.

Much of the success of a unit will depend upon the nature of the presentation and upon the manner in which it is put before the pupils. For it is the presentation which establishes the attitude of the class toward the unit and motivates the work. Since the nature of the presentation is one of the most difficult things for the teacher not thoroughly conversant with this systematic procedure to understand, it has seemed wise to offer a typical presentation with each unit. These presentations will likewise serve as a constant guide to the pupils' reading throughout the assimilative period. While these presentations are perfectly valid for these units, they are not, by any means, the only possible ones. Experienced teachers using these guide sheets in their classes will naturally devise their own presentations. For example, in Unit I, "Setting the Stage for Columbus," the author has more than once built up his presentation around the question, "Why was this voyage made at this particular time?" and "Why was such a voyage never made before?" When re-presentations are necessary, it is almost always the part of wisdom to modify the original presentation to meet the needs of the situation suggested by the presentation test. Often an entirely different approach is highly desirable. And finally, these

presentations have been so constructed, in the main, that the teacher may introduce his own illustrations of the important points.

In the second part of the guide sheets an attempt has been made to set forth the experiential material in rather an exhaustive form. Since the facts suggested in the outlines are to be used solely for the purpose of building up an understanding of the principles involved in the units, and never for memoriter purposes, only such facts as are essential to this end need be used. Therefore they may be added to, or subtracted from, to meet the special needs of any group, or the special viewpoint of any teacher. For example, in the fifth unit, "Testing the Constitution," practically all of the important episodes in the foreign policy of the United States have been listed under the element "Building up Respect Abroad." It is evident, however, that the use of only a few of these would be necessary to demonstrate the efficacy of the Constitution in handling the foreign situation, although the study of all of them would prove the point beyond peradventure. Again in Unit II, "Pushing Back the Frontier," a rather exhaustive analysis has been made of the conditions responsible for the expansion of Europe into the New World. It is undoubtedly true that the understanding involved in this part of the unit could be arrived at with the use of a part of these facts wisely chosen. In other words, the experienced teacher, disregarding, of course, the ground-to-be-covered notion, will by careful selection revise the assimilative material to meet the needs of his particular situation.

Perhaps the most important phase of the teaching procedure is the assimilation period. For it is during this period that the pupils are learning to use books; are developing the habits of study; and are discovering, sifting out, and rationalizing the facts which are to make the principle of the unit their own. To prevent lost motion in the learning process, and at the same time to direct their study, a series of problems, focused on the unit principle, has been proposed in connection with each unit. The problems herein presented are entirely experimental and therefore subject to change under the pressure of experience. The teacher, however, ought never to lose sight of the principle that the problems must center on the under-

standing involved in the unit, and never upon the facts alone which are used in building up that understanding.

The problems are not intended to be used for recitation purposes. The pupil is expected to pass in a written recitation on each problem as soon as he develops the understanding involved in the assimilative material. The problems, therefore, become not only a means of enabling the pupil to "keep his eye" on the significant phases of the unit, but they also provide the teacher with excellent evidence of the pupil's progress toward mastery. At the same time they throw light on the difficulties which the pupil encounters along the road. The teacher must be careful to emphasize the fact that the *assimilative material* and *not the problems* constitutes the real guide to the pupil's reading. Under normal conditions the returns from these problems will distribute themselves rather evenly over the whole assimilation period. As a result, the burden of paper-work for the teacher will be at no time excessive. If the assimilation period is properly organized, the teacher will be able, with few exceptions, to keep up each day with the returns from the problems.

Since the unit represents an understanding to be arrived at and not a mass of facts to be memorized chronologically, the problems, naturally, will not be attacked in the order in which they are set down. For example, in Unit I, "Setting the Stage for Columbus," it matters not at all whether the pupil works out the relationship of the Intellectual Setting to the unit principle first or last. Therefore, while some of the pupils are working out the problems dealing with the Intellectual Setting, others will be working on the Economic Setting or the Spirit of the Age. Such a condition is indeed fortunate, for it gives the greatest resiliency to the library-situation.

The various types of tests for mastery which are given from time to time during the assimilation period are fully described in Morrison's text. For obvious reasons it is impossible to include the assimilation tests in these guide sheets. The last problem of most of the units, however, has been so designed as to act as one of these tests. It will be observed that this problem differs from all the others in that its solution calls for the marshaling of all the facts and ideas that have been brought out in the solution of the other prob-

lems in such a way as to show whether the fundamental understanding of the principle of the unit has been attained.

Under any method of teaching history, a certain amount of mapwork is indispensable to the development of proper understandings of historical situations. Series of maps, therefore, have been suggested in connection with most of the units to give the proper geographical orientation of the principles involved. It is not claimed that the maps proposed are the only ones or the best ones to meet the conditions. Consequently, it will be within the province of any teacher to modify or change completely the maps here proposed. It is highly desirable, however, to develop a technique of map-making which shall set forth the map situations in the most vivid way, and to insist always upon its meticulous observance by the pupils.

One of the outstanding advantages of the systematic procedure herein advocated is the opportunity which it presents to handle individual differences as they appear both in the case of the slow pupils and of the brilliant ones. It regularly happens that an appreciable number of the more brilliant pupils will arrive at the mastery level considerably in advance of the class as a whole. The special project has been devised to sustain the interest of these pupils and at the same time to provide them with the opportunity of acquiring added intellectual growth. A group of special projects, therefore, has been added to each unit. Thus the problem of individual differences is taken care of in practically any type of class organization which may be employed where some form of supervised study prevails. The projects suggested are subject to modification to meet the interests of special groups and to conform to local library facilities.

One of the most significant aspects of the systematic procedure is that it offers the opportunity for the widest possible exposure of the pupils to the best historical literature. The schools in which this procedure is employed ought to bend their best energies toward the building up of adequate libraries. A large library is not, however, absolutely necessary for its use. With a few well-chosen books it can still be made effective; but the richer the opportunity for inves-

tigation, the richer will obviously be the results. The list of references given in connection with the units suggested in these guide sheets represents the library-situation in the school in which the author teaches, and is therefore, perforce, a limited one. A few of the books in each unit have been starred because of their special value. Some of the latter should be duplicated at once. As time goes on, additional copies should be bought as the frequency with which each book is used by the pupils may come to indicate. A textbook which is in the process of preparation by the author, on the basis of these units, will be particularly helpful in places where the library facilities are restricted.

While references of a strictly historical nature, only, have been suggested in connection with these units, the value of historical romances in creating and sustaining the interest of the pupils should not be forgotten. A very complete list of historical novels has been prepared by Mr. Barnard and Miss Logasa of the University High School of the University of Chicago, and will appear, in the near future, in a pamphlet published by the National Council for the Social Studies.[1] This list will be of great value to history teachers and is recommended for use in connection with these guide-sheets.

Various opinions exist as to the number of units that can be satisfactorily dealt with in the span of a year. The author has experimented with eight, seven, and six in consecutive years and has come to the conclusion that six units represent, under ordinary conditions, the ideal number. With proper organization and with a forty-week year, as many as eight units can probably be adequately developed. Eight would seem to be the absolute maximum, and six, probably, the advisable minimum.

[1] For further information in regard to this pamphlet write to the editor of the *Historical Outlook*.

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UNIT I. SETTING THE STAGE FOR COLUMBUS

PRESENTATION

The soul of a great age is revealed in the exploit of Columbus. The study of this age brings to light not only those elements which went into the shaping of Columbus' life but also all those fundamental impulses which have gone into the making of the complex life of that extensive New World whose unexpected discovery brought so much bitterness to Columbus in the last years of his life. To understand this age, known in history as the Renaissance, with its unprecedented creative power and with its knowledge of the great accomplishments of the past, is to understand why this memorable voyage was made at this time, as well as why such a voyage was never made before. It is true that the Northmen in the latter part of the tenth century accidentally stumbled upon the New World, and made several voyages there in the eleventh. Yet these voyages cannot be considered as detracting in any way from the glory of Columbus. For the discovery of the New World by the Northmen was not in any sense of the word a reasoned-out project, nor did it have the setting of the Renaissance to give it importance in the life of Europe. Before long all knowledge of these voyages disappeared, and they remained lost in oblivion until resurrected by the historians of our own day.

Two aspects of the intellectual life of the Renaissance must be carefully scrutinized for a proper understanding of the work of Columbus. In the first place the Italians sought to revive, as fully as possible, the Classical civilization. In the process, they naturally brought to light much of the scientific knowledge that had been gradually accumulated in the ancient world. This information, particularly in so far as it was related to such matters as the size and shape of the earth and the distribution of land and water areas, was of fundamental significance to Columbus in formulating his idea that the riches of the Orient could be reached by sailing west. With-

out this fund of knowledge at hand his voyage would have been inevitably postponed. In the second place, the Renaissance produced a wealth of indispensable intellectual experience. From the Crusades to the time of Columbus, the Italians dominated the commerce of the Mediterranean. These three centuries of maritime activity were richly productive not only of generations of trained seamen but also of a mass of practical knowledge of inestimable value to Columbus. Furthermore, the Portuguese, in the waning years of Italy's maritime supremacy, reached out into the unknown Atlantic, thereby not only widening the geographical knowledge of the day but also providing the direct incentive for the voyage of Columbus.

The unforeseen discovery of the New World is not to be accounted for entirely, however, by the intellectual aspects of the age. The reopening of the oriental trade on a large scale after the Crusades, revolutionized the economic life of Europe. The internal commerce of Europe was stimulated. Great trading-cities such as Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, and Antwerp sprang up. Ultimately many of these cities organized themselves into leagues for the furtherance and protection of this commerce. The most notable of these was the Hanseatic League which comprised most of the important cities of Northern Europe.

The expansion of European commerce greatly stimulated industry, for the demands of the growing population of Europe and of the oriental trade made necessary the speeding up of manufacturing and mining as well as the improvement of agricultural methods. It was the growing demand for the wares of the Orient that led the people of Europe to expand to the highest possible degree the production of such commodities as could be exchanged for these much desired goods.

A revolution in business organization and methods was a necessary corollary to the expansion of commerce and industry. The guild organization was transformed. Modern wholesaling methods were developed. Banking and systems of exchange were gradually built up. Trading companies, the forerunners of present-day stock companies, were formed.

This whole new economic structure, which was, in a large measure, built upon the trade with the Orient, required for its existence an uninterrupted and easy flow of Eastern wares into Europe. The movement of commodities by the old routes was, however, cumbersome and expensive; and the alarming expansion of the Turkish Empire was a constant menace to the security of these routes. It was the Portuguese who first saw the possibility of a cheaper and safer all-water route around Africa. The success of the Portuguese was Columbus' opportunity, for, in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella paved the way for his historic exploit by granting him the necessary permission and funds.

The expansion of the economic life of Europe was accompanied by important changes in the political field. The enormous increase in wealth during the Renaissance and its concentration in the great commercial centers spelled the ultimate ruin of the political powers of the old feudal lords and, at the same time, provided Kings everywhere with the means to establish an autocratic control over the new political units known as nations which had been gradually assuming prominence since the tenth century. It was the final consolidation of the great commercial nations of the Atlantic seaboard which made possible the unique explorations of the Portuguese and Columbus during the fifteenth century and laid the foundations of that terrific rivalry for control of the New World that constituted much of the history of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

While it is true that man, in all periods of his existence has exhibited curiosity, a love of romance and adventure, resourcefulness, and inventiveness, it is probably safe to assert that almost never in the history of mankind have these qualities been more intensely developed than during the age which produced Columbus. They expressed themselves in all fields of human activity. Their driving force spurred men on to unexcelled achievements. In painting they gave to the world the principle of perspective, in science the Copernican theory, and in the field of geography a knowledge of all parts of the earth's surface, for the first time in history. The

intellectual contributions of the Renaissance gave Columbus his *idea,* the expansion of the economic life of Europe provided the *motive* for his experiment; the growth of nations contributed the *essential organization;* but it was the dominating spirit of the age which produced in him the *resistless urge* and the *indomitable courage* to venture forth on the unknown and terrifying waters of the "*Mare tenebrosum*" to demonstrate the truth of his conviction that the riches of the fabulous Orient were to be found by following the glittering path of the setting sun.

ASSIMILATIVE MATERIAL

I. The intellectual setting
   1. The Renaissance
      a) Its origin
      b) Its meaning
   2. Contributions of the ancients
      a) Ideas regarding:
         (1) The shape of the earth
         (2) The size of the earth
         (3) The distribution of land and water areas
      b) Superstitions
   3. Contributions of Italians
      a) Her trained seamen
      b) Her great scholars
      c) Experiences of her travelers and explorers
      d) Instruments and knowledge of navigation
   4. Contributions of Portuguese
      a) Widening of geographical knowledge
      b) Undermining superstitions
      c) Knowledge of the Atlantic
      d) Trained seamen
      e) Direct incentive
   5. Relation to exploit of Columbus

II. The economic setting
   1. The revival of commerce
      a) The Crusades and the reopening of trade with the Orient
      b) The expansion of European commerce
      c) Revolution in commercial organization—the Hanseatic League
   2. Growth of industry
      a) Manufacturing
      b) Mining
      c) Improvement in agricultural methods

3. Advance of business organization
   a) Expansion of guilds
   b) Beginnings of modern wholesaling methods
   c) Banking and systems of exchange
   d) Trading-companies
   e) The "Wall Streets" of the Renaissance: Venice and Antwerp
4. Relation to exploit of Columbus

III. The political setting
1. The decline of feudalism
   a) Expansion of commerce and industry
   b) Growth of wealth
   c) Development of the bourgeoisie (middle-class)
   d) Increase in the power of kings
2. The emergence of the commercial nations of the Atlantic seaboard
   a) Portugal
   b) Spain
   c) Holland
   d) France
   e) England
3. Relation to the exploit of Columbus

IV. Spirit of the age
1. Outstanding qualities of the Renaissance mind
   a) Primary qualities
      (1) Power to grasp big conceptions
      (2) Curiosity
      (3) Romance and adventure
      (4) Individualism
      (5) Impatience
   b) Secondary qualities
      (1) Resourcefulness
      (2) Inventiveness
2. Multifarious expressions of Renaissance spirit in field of:
   a) Art and architecture
   b) Literature
   c) Science and mathematics

d) Music
e) Religion
f) Education
g) Travel and exploration
h) Printing

3. Its relation to the work of Columbus

PROBLEMS FOCUSING ON THE UNDERSTANDING INVOLVED IN THE UNIT

1. What was the broad significance of the Renaissance? Base your discussion on the following points: (*a*) origin of Renaissance, (*b*) its varied and significant accomplishments, (*c*) the relative importance of Columbus' exploit.

2. How did the ancient world contribute both positively and negatively to the work of Columbus?

3. What did the ancient world know about the size and shape of the earth? Why would the voyage of Columbus have been inevitably postponed if this knowledge had not been brought to light?

4. What theories did the ancient world hold regarding the distribution of land and water areas? Were these theories of any scientific value to Columbus? To what extent did the Renaissance contribute positive information on these theories?

5. What did the Italians contribute that was of direct value to Columbus? Show exactly how these contributions aided Columbus.

6. How did Marco Polo specifically aid Columbus in the formulation of his idea?

7. How was the work of the Portuguese more directly related to the work of Columbus than that of the Italians?

8. How did the revival of trade with the Orient stimulate the growth of industry?

9. In what way did the expansion of commerce and industry revolutionize the business organization of Europe? Why?

10. How was the general stimulation of the economic life of Europe during the Renaissance related to the exploit of Columbus?

11. Discuss the significance of the outstanding qualities of the Renaissance mind in relation to the accomplishments of the age.

12. What part did the spirit of the age play in the life and work of Columbus?

13. Why was such a voyage as that of Columbus never made before?

14. Show how the four major parts of the unit are related to an understanding of the unit as a whole.

PROJECTS

1. The China of Marco Polo
2. How the ancients measured the earth and proved it round
3. Medieval superstitions
4. Origin of banking
5. The commerce of the Italian cities
6. The Hanseatic League
7. The Fuggers
8. The Ottoman Turks
9. Prince Henry the Navigator
10. The first voyage of Columbus
11. The cities of the Renaissance
12. The sea-kings

MAPS

1. The known world at the time of Columbus.

2. Voyages of the Northmen, Marco Polo, the Portuguese, and Columbus.

3. The old Oriental trade routes with their important transhipment points: Trebizond, Antioch, Tripolis, Sidon, Tyre, Alexandria, Bagdad, Damascus, Babylon, and Basra.

4. Important trading cities of Europe during the Renaissance: Venice, Genoa, Paris, Marseilles, Boulogne, Bruges, Antwerp, London, Lisbon, Barcelona, Toledo, Bremen, and Hamburg.

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UNIT II. PUSHING BACK THE FRONTIER

PRESENTATION

One of our most scholarly historians, Frederick L. Paxson, recently stated in the preface to his *History of the American Frontier:* "My successors will, of course, do better, but none will complete his task with a firmer conviction than I possess that the frontier with its continuous influence is the most American thing in all America." This is, perhaps, but another way of saying that the advance of the frontier has been the most influential factor in shaping the life of the American people. It is unquestionably true that no proper comprehension of American history would be possible without an adequate understanding of the expanding frontier. A cursory study of the history of frontier expansion throughout all ages of the world is all that is necessary to demonstrate the importance of frontiers in world-history. Who, indeed, would have the temerity to evaluate Roman history without reference to the influence of her frontier? What is true of the Romans is equally true of the Teutonic race whose advance in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. gave this vigorous people control of all the western portion of the Roman Empire and laid the foundation for the development of the modern Western civilization. In the story of the expansion of this Germanic civilization we must find the starting point for the proper understanding of the frontier influences in American history. The gradual occupation of the American continent is, after all, but a broadening of that frontier which, in its first advance, destroyed the Roman Empire of the west and, in its second, took possession of the New World. This frontier in its new environment, gradually pushed back by the ceaseless stream of migrants from Europe, and by the recurring expansion of the Americans themselves, has colored and transformed American institutions and laid the foundation of a new nation.

History tells us that frontiers, except where they have been

largely military, as was the case with Rome, and as is partly the case with France today, have acted as safety valves for the expanding nations. And even in the case of Rome an attempt was made, although in the main unsuccessful, especially outside of Italy, to colonize the restless and unfortunate elements of her population. The frontier of the Teutonic races has ever been an outlet for their superabundant energy and for their intense restlessness. It has also been a medium through which they have worked out many of the ideals produced by their prolific civilization.

The expansion of frontiers throughout history has been influenced in a varying degree by an economic urge, that is, by the desire to advance the standard of living. The same motive that has led farmers to search out the best farm lands has led nations to plant their colonies in the most productive regions. Even in the case of Rome, where protection seems to have been the original incentive for her expansion, the protection of the farm lands from which she derived her food supplies started her on her career of conquest. And the motive which carried her in her conquering career beyond the limits of the Italian peninsula was undoubtedly the desire to command the economic resources of the Mediterranean world. The bitter struggle with the great commercial empire of Carthage and the ultimate annexation of Egypt point clearly to the truth of this conclusion.

While many motives of a political, social, and religious nature were back of the development of the European frontier in the New World, the desire to improve their economic life has always been a powerful incentive in the colonizing activities of the European nations. How clearly this was demonstrated by the gold greed of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; by the constant eager search for outlets of factories as the industrial revolution took hold of European life; and finally, by the race for the high wages offered by the American industrial world in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This unceasing movement of Europeans into the New World from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, providing as it did the man-power for the developing of the American frontier, has been one of the most vital factors in American life.

The complete story of its influence in shaping American institutions is yet to be told. The immigration law of 1924, however, brought to an end this chapter in the history of the American frontier.

Another aspect of the advancing American frontier of equal, if not greater, significance has been the steady westward movement of the American people themselves. All the yearning, eagerness, and restless enthusiasms of the reawakened Europe of the Renaissance which sent countless thousands of Europeans into the New World became the heritage of their American descendants, and have influenced generations of Americans to seek their fortunes in the glamorous atmosphere of the Western World. From the days of the expanding religious frontier of New England and the widening tobacco frontier of Virginia to the present day, a ceaseless stream of migrants from the East has heeded the magic call of the West. For some it was the lure of the gold and silver of the Far West; for others it was the more prosaic lure of the rich farming and grazing lands of the Middle West; but always the irresistible desire for economic betterment, for a little better farm than the one left behind, kept the stream ceaselessly moving. Thus was gradually built up that environment which was to distinguish America among the nations of the world.

The work of developing the vast American frontier has not been accomplished without violence and suffering. The intense rivalry of the great commercial nations of the Atlantic seaboard during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries resulted in a series of bitter wars. The defeat of the terrifying Spanish Armada by England in 1588 brought to an end any serious competition on the part of Spain for the New World. In the middle of the seventeenth century the three naval wars of the Dutch and the English, resulting in the seizure of New Amsterdam by the English, brought an end to Dutch hopes. The struggle of England and France during the first half of the eighteenth century, which developed into the world-wide Seven Years War for control of world commerce, became the epic episode in the three centuries of rivalry for control of the new continent. The victory of England, under

the leadership of William Pitt, not only gave her a mastery of the seas not seriously challenged until the Great War of 1914, but it gave to the New World those principles of liberty which are rapidly becoming universal wherever Western civilization penetrates.

One of the most dramatic episodes, perhaps, in the story of the westward-moving frontier, one which exercised constantly a formative influence upon American character and institutions, was the persistent struggle of the American natives for their hunting-grounds. In the race for colonies the European nations gave but scant heed to the rights of the tribes who stood in their way. There was the meeting of two grades of culture, widely separated from each other in point of evolution. The ultimate outcome of such a struggle was foreordained, for as John Fiske has said, "The stronger is apt to blight and crush the weaker where it does not amend and transform it." To France and Spain, dominated by the spirit of conquest and exploitation, the native races were an inferior people to be made, by processes of education and assimilation, into loyal and productive subjects. Neither nation, however, possessed the power or staying-qualities necessary for such an undertaking. The result was that the conquerors gradually undermined and ultimately destroyed the culture of the tribes within the scope of their influence, without giving them in return the benefits of their own civilizations. To England, entering the New World largely for the purposes of trading and home-making, the native tribes were foreign nations to be removed from her path by diplomacy or war. This policy naturally became the heritage of the American people when the thirteen colonies separated themselves from England. Wars, broken treaties, and scalpings have been the inevitable consequences, as the frontier, in its pitiless advance, has eaten into the hunting-grounds which have ever constituted the chief source of food-supply for these forest-peoples. It was not until after 1870 that the United States began to develop a truly constructive attitude toward the Indian problem. The new Indian policy which slowly materialized after that date brought to an end the treaty-basis relationship, and by the Dawes Act of 1887 laid the foundation for the only permanent solution of the problem by pro-

viding for individual ownership of land on the part of the Indians and by admitting them to citizenship. The last stand of Sitting Bull and Chief Joseph between 1874 and 1877 brought to an end the resistance of the Indians. The advance of the railroads had made their cause hopeless. The new Indian policy, giving them as it did full rights of citizenship, has made resistance needless. The problem of the native races found its final solution in the vanishing frontier.

But it was not alone the native races who opposed the advance of Western civilization on the American frontier. Nature, herself, raised obstacles at every step. Mountain ranges, primeval forests, floods, and droughts all played their part in interposing a stubborn resistance to the westward progress of civilization. Resourcefulness, ingenuity, inventiveness, and virility were necessary to overcome these barriers. While the pioneers possessed these qualities in a very pronounced form, the constantly recurring problems of the frontier have greatly emphasized them and have made them outstanding characteristics of the American people of today.

And so as we follow the story of the expanding frontier we gain a full realization of the truth of the statement that ". . . . the frontier with its continuous influence is the most American thing in all America." The expansion of Europe has supplied us steadily with an adequate man-power to develop our boundless resources; the victory of England in the struggle for control in the New World gave us those fundamental principles of liberty and equality upon which American institutions have been built; the gradual expansion of the American people from the Atlantic to the Pacific has created a truly American environment which has absorbed and Americanized the European people and institutions which have come into it; and finally the "Fringe of the Frontier" with its rugged problems provided by nature and by the native races has given to American character, American institutions, and American traditions those qualities which in a very specific way characterize America today. Out of the frontier has come the American nation.

ASSIMILATIVE MATERIAL

I. Expansion of Europe into the New World—source of man-power
   1. The Pathfinders
      a) Spanish
      b) French
      c) English
   2. Emigration during the Renaissance
      a) The Reformation: Jesuits in New Spain and New France; Huguenots in Florida and the English colonies; Puritans, Separatists, Quakers, and Catholics in English America
      b) The economic revolution: distress growing out of religious wars and persecutions; enclosures; break-down of the guild system; debasement of coinage; influx of Spanish gold
      c) The social reorganization: new classes; overpopulation
      d) Political consolidation: growth of the commercial nations of the Atlantic seaboard; mercantilism
      e) The spirit of the age: curiosity; romance and adventure; impatience
      f) The New World: its appeal to the spirit of romance and adventure; its resources—gold, silver, fur, forest products, rich soil
      g) The colonies: Spanish; French; English
   3. Emigration during the industrial age in Europe
      a) Economic conditions: the industrial revolution; revival of enclosures; potato famine in Ireland and Germany; distress growing out of Napoleonic wars and succeeding revolutions; cheaper ocean transportation via steamboats
      b) Political unrest: persecution of Irish; the revolutions in Europe; growth of democracy
      c) Social conditions: overpopulation; growing hatred of caste system
      d) The American appeal: abundant cheap land; the growing territorial frontier; improved transportation; free institutions
   4. The industrial age in America—the call of the factory
      a) Sources of immigration: Southeastern Europe

b) American conditions: high wages; better living conditions; "The land of the free"

II. Three centuries of rivalry for the New World—origin of fundamental institutions
   1. The sixteenth century, a Spanish century
      a) Sources of Spain's power: her wealth; her political unity; her religious unity and prestige in the Catholic world; a tradition of military success; her leadership, Philip II; the line of demarcation
      b) The impotence of her rivals: England; France; Holland
      c) The downfall of Spain: undermining weaknesses; growing strength of her rivals; defeat of the Spanish Armada
   2. England and Holland in the seventeenth century
      a) Their growing commercial rivalry
      b) The seizure of New Amsterdam by England
   3. The elimination of France in the eighteenth century
      a) World-wide causes of their rivalry
      b) Comparison of combatants
      c) The wars
   4. The new frontier in America
      a) Geographical
      b) Institutional

III. The expansion of American people, 1606–1925—building up the American environment
   1. The Atlantic seaboard, 1606–1783
      a) The religious expansion of New England
      b) The expansion of the tobacco plantations of the south
      c) The farm and fur-trade expansion of the middle colonies
   2. The trans-Alleghany country, 1783–1860
      a) Territorial expansion: Treaty of Paris, 1873; acquisition of Florida; Louisiana; Mexican Cession; Oregon; Gadsden Purchase
      b) Penetration of the Alleghany barrier: the pathfinders—Boone, Robertson, and Sevier; Kentucky and Tennessee; the Ohio Valley
      c) The War of 1812 and the westward movement: manufacturing and agricultural expansion of the North; King Cotton and the growth of the South; development of transportation, steamboats, roads, canals, and railroads; the new states

3. The Mississippi and beyond
   a) Gold and the Far West
   b) The growth of railways
   c) Grazing and agriculture on the ranges and plains
   d) Mining in the "Middle Border"
   e) The new states

IV. "The Fringe of the Frontier"—source of typical American characteristics
   1. The physical environment
      a) Natural resources
      b) Harbors and inland waterways
      c) The topography of the country
      d) The climate
   2. "Forest Diplomacy"
      a) The American Indians
         (1) Their civilization
         (2) Their reaction to the advancing frontier
      b) Attitude of European nations toward native races
         (1) Indian policies: Spain; England; France
         (2) Indian wars: their significance
      c) The evolution of the American attitude
         (1) The inherited English policy
         (2) The Indian wars
            (*a*) The Northwest Territory: England and the Indians through War of 1812; Black Hawk's last stand, 1832
            (*b*) The Southwest: Jackson and the Indians of the Southwest
            (*c*) The Far West: The Cheyenne War, 1864; the Sioux War, 1866; Black Kettle's last raid, 1868; Sitting Bull and Chief Joseph, 1874–77
         (3) The removal policy, 1825–69: the Indian bureau, 1832
         (4) The solution of the Indian problem, 1869–1926
            (*a*) Peace Commission, 1867
            (*b*) Board of Indian Commissioners, 1867
            (*c*) End of treaty-basis relationship, 1871
            (*d*) The Dawes Act, 1887
   3. Significance in American history—effect on American character, institutions, and traditions

PROBLEMS FOCUSING ON THE UNDERSTANDING INVOLVED IN THE UNIT

1. What is meant by the statement that the discovery and occupation of the New World represents the second important phase of the expansion of the frontier of the Teutonic tribes?

2. How do you account for the fact that the English occupation of America was more successful and permanent than that of the French and Spanish?

3. What were the most significant European conditions which explain the expansion of Europe into the New World? How do these conditions throw light on the character of the people who have come to America?

4. What have been the most important factors in the appeal of America to Europeans from the sixteenth century to the twentieth?

5. How do you explain Spain's monopoly of the New World during the sixteenth century?

6. What facts explain England's ultimate victory in the struggle for the New World? What did England's victory mean to the New World?

7. What explanation can you give of the westward expansion of the American people from the seventeenth to the twentieth century? What has been the significance of this movement in American history?

8. Why did the American Indians resist so stubbornly the westward movement of the American people?

9. Why were the Indian policies of Spain and France more constructive in theory than England's policy? Why did they fail in practice?

10. Explain how the new Indian policy of the United States after 1869 brought to an end the Indian problem. How did this policy resemble the policies of Spain and France?

11. How have the problems of the frontier influenced American character and institutions?

12. Show why an understanding of the four major parts of the unit is necessary to an understanding of the unit itself.

PROJECTS

1. Enclosures
2. The fur trade in the New World
3. Mercantilism
4. The nineteenth century revolution in transportation
5. The Line of Demarcation
6. The Indians east of the Mississippi
7. Daniel Boone
8. The "Forty Niners"
9. The Union-Pacific
10. Indian frontier diplomacy
11. "Les Coureurs de Bois"
12. Coinage during the Renaissance

MAPS

1. Colonies of Spain, England, France, and Holland.

2. English frontier, 1763; American frontier, 1783, 1875. Show successive changes by use of colors.

3. England's gains in America between 1689 and 1763. Show the frontiers of 1689, 1715, and 1763 on three small maps traced on one sheet of paper. (Use colors.)

4. Location of important Indian tribes, the Algonquins, Iroquois, Maskoki, Sioux, and Cheyenne. (Use colors.)

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UNIT III. THE NEW WORLD BREAKS AWAY FROM THE OLD

PRESENTATION

While the new nations of the Atlantic seaboard, whose beginnings are to be traced to the late middle ages, were being crystalized during the Renaissance, the seething economic activities of that period were destined to drive them into the formation of great commercial empires. Empire-building in its early stages, when the control of the New World was its goal, was, for the nations concerned, a new and untried experiment. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries it precipated those intense rivalries which left England in a dominating position in the New World. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth, it brought those revolutions which led to the separation of the New World from the Old. Fundamentally these revolutions were logical episodes in the expanding frontier of Europe. As has always been the case in history, the frontier of England and Spain in the New World attracted the venturesome, the fortune-hunters, the persecuted, and the idealists. As generation succeeded generation, and as the frontier expanded, these emigrants gradually drew away from Europe in spirit, in habits of thought, and in methods of living. They rapidly became true products of their new environment. Both England and Spain sought valiantly for the solution of these new problems, but inexperience, narrowness of vision, and failure to recognize the unknown quantities in the situation, such as time, distance, and the human qualities of the colonists, cost England her thirteen colonies and Spain her empire.

Hardly had England reached the apex of her imperial power in the New World in 1763, when elements of discord which had been slowly gaining strength brought her into that memorable struggle with her American colonies which was to give birth to a new nation, and at the same time was to give her that salutary experience which

has made her, today, the head of the greatest empire of modern times. The rupture between England and her colonies was the ultimate product of the differences of viewpoint that gradually developed throughout the Colonial period and of the inevitable development of an independent spirit on the part of the colonies themselves.

For a hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, England and her colonies had been growing apart, the former more and more intent upon the grandeur of empire; the latter, increasingly absorbed with the problems of self-government, drifting toward the status of independent states. As Andrews has so well put it in his *Background of the American Revolution,* "In studying the revolt of the American colonies we are dealing with two different types or states of political and social development, which were the results of environment and historical evolution and exhibit differences not merely of external conditions but of frames of mind and ways of living as well."

The differences of viewpoint which had brought about this condition had been inherent in the situation from the very beginning. Untrained in empire-building, England viewed her colonies with the eyes of a trader rather than with those of a statesman. For a hundred and fifty years, therefore, favorable trade-balances and profits concerned her more than the formulating of sound principles of colonial control. While this mercantile policy aroused the fears of the colonies, its laws were easily evaded; and it constituted but one of the growing sources of irritation. Furthermore, as the years advanced, a difference in social viewpoint manifested itself. The colonies, growing up in the atmosphere of the frontier, rapidly developed a democratic organization which separated them more and more from England with her aristocratic feudal organization. Again, from the beginning, self-government had been fostered in the colonies by the failure of England to build up any constructive policy of imperial control. As a consequence, colonial legislatures had developed a comparatively complete control over the colonial situation. By 1763, in spite of the presence of royal governors and other English officials, the colonies had become, to all intents and purposes, self-governing communities, which fiercely resented the

periodic attempts to bring them under the control of the English parliament. Finally, the fact that the colonists were in the main dissenters from the established church of England completed the list of conditions which had been gradually transforming the colonists from colonials to full-fledged Americans. The logical result of the whole English policy was to create a sturdy spirit of independence in the colonies, which expressed itself, from time to time, throughout the Colonial period in no uncertain terms. Note, for example, Bacon's rebellion in 1675, and the overthrow of Andros by the people of Massachusetts in 1689.

The coming of George III to the throne of England in 1760 and the expulsion of the French from America in 1763 marked a turning point in the colonial situation. On the one side, a new policy of imperial control was added to the policy of mercantilism; while, on the other, the removal of the French danger strengthened the spirit of independence in the colonies. The elements of divergence which had been developing over a long period of time between England and her colonies would never in themselves alone have produced the final break, for such elements of divergence exist today in the relationship between England and Canada; yet the loyalty of Canada to England is unquestioned. The development of a situation in which one side or the other had to give up viewpoints and attitudes brought the crisis. Inspired leadership, which alone could have saved the situation, failed; and the birth of the American nation was the result.

The revolt of the Spanish colonies was the product of a colonial policy quite different from that of England. Whatever control England ultimately built up over her colonies was the product of her mercantilist policy. Spain, on the other hand, developed a definite colonial policy of which mercantilism was merely a feature. However differently these policies may have originated, their effect upon the respective colonies of these nations was in the long run the same.

Time, distance, and the Americanization of the colonists did their work. Different viewpoints gradually developed, and when the conditions were ripe, the Spanish colonies followed in the foot-

steps of their English neighbors and broke away from their mother-country. While the English colonies revolted through fear of the loss of their long-enjoyed liberties, the Spanish colonies, through revolution, sought the liberty and freedom which had been denied them from the beginning of their existence by a corrupt and autocratic government.

The occasion for the revolution of the Spanish-American colonies came when Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808 and drove Ferdinand VII from the throne. Revolution followed revolution. When Ferdinand was restored to the Spanish throne on the downfall of Napoleon, all his mainland colonies were lost to him. England, from the beginning, supported the cause of the revolted colonies, because, in the main, she was reluctant to give up the profitable trade which she had built up with them since their independence. Furthermore, she sought to enlist the aid of the United States in opposition to the plans of Spain and the Holy Alliance to recover the colonies. The United States, however, determined to act alone. The Monroe Doctrine which followed closely on the heels of this decision, not only guaranteed the independence of the Spanish colonies but also gave the United States a position of leadership in the Western Hemisphere, a position which she has retained to the present day.

ASSIMILATIVE MATERIAL

I. The rupture between England and her colonies

1. Basic elements of antagonism
   a) The English colonial policy: neglect of colonies; mercantilism
   b) Difference of social viewpoint: class distinctions; English attitude toward colonies; Americans vs. Englishmen; influence of American frontier
   c) Difference of political viewpoint: conflicting conceptions of representation; parliament vs. colonial legislatures
   d) Difference of religious viewpoint: Church of England vs. colonial dissent

2. Spirit of independence during the Colonial period
   a) The New England Confederation, 1643–84
   b) Independent spirit of Massachusetts
   c) Overthrow of Andros, 1689
   d) Bacon's rebellion, 1676
   e) Colonial legislatures vs. colonial governors
   f) Colonial evasion of Navigation Acts
   g) Significance of expulsion of French from America, 1763

3. George III and the new imperialism
   a) The Grenville Acts, 1764
   b) The Townshend Acts, 1767
   c) The Intolerable Acts, 1774

4. The war, 1775–83
   a) Fighting for redress of grievances, 1775–76
   b) Independence, 1776–83: Saratoga; intervention of foreign powers; Loyalists; the frontier in the war; war on the sea; Yorktown
   c) Treaty of Paris, 1783
   d) The "New Nation": boundaries; problems

II. The Spanish-American colonies revolt from Spain
   1. The Spanish colonial policy; its relation to the development of the revolutionary spirit
   2. Spain and Napoleon; the revolution of the Spanish-American colonies
   3. The Holy Alliance and the Spanish-American revolutions
   4. Attitude of England from Lord North to Canning, 1779–1823
   5. Attitude of America; John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine
   6. Liberation of Cuba, 1898

PROBLEMS FOCUSING ON THE UNDERSTANDING INVOLVED IN THE UNIT

1. How did England contribute to the building-up of the spirit of independence?

2. Why did the colonists oppose the mercantilist policy of England?

3. Explain clearly in each case the colonial opposition to the Grenville Acts, the Townshend Acts, and the Intolerable Acts.

4. Why did English statesmen, in the main, fail to understand the colonial viewpoint?

5. Why did the war change from a war for the redress of grievances to a war for independence?

6. Why did many leading Englishmen support the colonial cause?

7. How is the ultimate victory of the colonists to be accounted for?

8. How did the Spanish colonial policy tend to build up the spirit of independence in the Spanish colonies?

9. What interest did the Holy Alliance have in helping Spain get back her colonies?

10. Why was England interested in the independence of the Spanish colonies?

11. Why did America issue the Monroe Doctrine?

12. Discuss the statement that the Revolutionary War was, in reality, a war between two nations rather than a civil war between two parts of the British Empire.

PROJECTS

1. Burke on conciliation
2. English statesmanship during eighteenth century
3. Toryism in the colonies
4. The campaigns of the war
5. The French alliance
6. Washington as commander-in-chief of American forces
7. Colonial co-operation, 1763–83
8. The Holy Alliance
9. Canning and the Monroe Doctrine
10. Origins of Monroe Doctrine

MAPS

1. Trace the threefold campaign for New York in 1777.

2. Locate the following: Saratoga, West Point, Yorktown, Germantown, Bennington, Kings Mountain, Valley Forge.

3. Indicate boundaries of United States established by Treaty of Paris, 1783.

4. The European alliance against England.

5. Spanish America today.

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UNIT IV. MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

PRESENTATION

An adequate government is a prime necessity to any nation. Failure to create such a government is almost certain to result in social, political, and economic disintegration, and loss of prestige in the family of nations. While history, both past and present, offers many proofs of the truth of this statement—notably, Spain since the defeat of the Armada, and Mexico of today—perhaps, no more graphic illustration could be found of the meaning of an inadequate government than in the study of that period of American history from 1781 to 1789 when the newly independent colonies were trying to work out their salvation under the Articles of Confederation. The ordeal of the Confederation was but the prelude to the almost unprecedented prosperity and happiness of United States under the Constitution. The suffering and dangers of that period, both domestic and foreign, which all but led to the loss of those ideals for which the colonies had fought during the War of Independence, ultimately brought a clearer vision and with it one of the most perfect instruments of government ever created by man.

The failure of the thirteen colonies to create a strong central government in the beginning may be attributed to many factors. In the first place the manner of their creation had much to do with the situation. There was no ordered design back of the establishment of these colonies. They were created at different periods and for different purposes. As a consequence they had different types of settlers and different ideals. In the second place, these colonies were widely separated from each other. Rivers, forests, hostile Indians, and lack of adequate means of communication kept them in a perpetual state of isolation. Again, this state of colonial isolation was greatly encouraged and emphasized by the English policy in dealing with the colonies, for the tendency of England throughout the Colonial period was to treat them as separate units. At no time

did she build up a comprehensive policy embracing them all. Finally, their failure to build up a strong central government after the Declaration of Independence may be attributed, in a very large measure, to the fear, which amounted almost to an obsession, that the creation of a strong central government would simply mean the substitution of a new kind of tyranny for the one just overthrown. Out of these factors came the tendency of the colonies to focus their attention upon the idea of the sovereignty of the individual colony. Thus colonial individualism became the basic feature of this period and led to the creation of the Articles of Confederation which sacrificed the welfare of the colonies as a whole for the narrower and more selfish interests of the individual colonies.

Whence, then, came the inspiration that led to the creation of the Constitution, one of the most perfect instruments of governments known today? During the eight years following Yorktown, perhaps, no people ever suffered more, nor came nearer destruction, than did the thirteen English colonies with their newly won independence. Practically every domestic policy failed. National and state debts piled up. Anarchy broke forth in many of the states. Witness Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts, and the desperate suffering in Rhode Island growing out of the "Know Ye" measures. Feeling between states became so acute at times as to border on a state of civil war. Nor was it alone in the domestic field that chaos reigned, for in their relations with foreign powers, the colonies reached the very depths of degradation. Not only did the great commercial powers of Europe refuse to enter into treaty relations with them, but the piratical powers of Northern Africa heaped insult upon injury by preying upon their commerce as well as by demanding tribute which they could not pay. Out of the chaos of this period, however, came the vision which gave to the United States the form of government from which has come more than a hundred years of unbroken growth and prosperity.

The government of the United States as it exists today is the product of two colonial traditions: on the one side, a tradition of local independence; and on the other, a tradition of co-operative action.

By far the more significant of these was the tradition of colonial individualism. So intense had this feeling become at the time of the Revolution that the colonies looked upon themselves as independent nations endowed with all the sovereign powers inherent in any state. This individualism had already caused much suffering during the critical years of our history. Carried to its ultimate conclusion, it would have brought ruin to colonial hopes. Written into the Constitution, however, in connection with the tradition of co-operative action, it gave us the federal side of our government which has been one of the fundamental elements of its success. For thus the control of the states over their local affairs was preserved without sacrificing the welfare of the nation as a whole.

The tradition of co-operative action, while never as influential during the Colonial period as the feeling of local independence, had, however, a unifying influence of increasing force as time went on. This spirit of co-operation sprang from two principal sources. In the first place, in spite of the many diverse racial elements, the English colonies were always fundamentally English in language, customs, and religion. This fact constantly kept alive a bond of sympathy between them. Furthermore, there were times when they were forced to co-operate in part or as a whole against common dangers. Note, for example, the formation of the New England Confederation in 1643, the military co-operation of the colonies during the French and Indian War and the Revolution, and their deliberative co-operation in the Revolutionary assemblies. The lack of such a tradition of co-operative action accounts, in a large measure, for the fact that Europe is today a group of independent sovereign states. This tradition of common ideals and co-operative action, however, became the basis upon which the national aspects of the United States government have been built. And thus a strong central government was created without interfering with the control of the states over their local interests.

The fathers of the Constitution, in their wisdom, saw these two traditions and by blending them together in a manner satisfactory to all, laid the foundations of an enduring government.

ASSIMILATIVE MATERIAL

I. America under the Articles of Confederation
   1. Basic weaknesses of the Articles
   2. Domestic discord
      a) National and state debts
      b) Strife between states: New Hampshire vs. New York; Connecticut vs. Pennsylvania; New York vs. New Jersey and Connecticut.
      c) Anarchy within states: Shay's Rebellion; "Know Ye" measures in Rhode Island
   3. Failure of the foreign policy
      a) Commercial treaties
      b) England and the trading-posts
      c) Private debts owed in England
      d) The Tory problem
      e) The Florida boundary
      f) The Mediterranean pirates
   4. Constructive legislation; the Northwest Ordinance

II. Events leading to the making of the Constitution
   1. The national spirit during the Colonial period
      a) Inspired by
         (1) Failure of England to build up a constructive colonial policy
         (2) Strife between colonial legislatures and colonial governors, 1689–1763
         (3) Frontier influences
         (4) The imperialism of George III
      b) Expressions of
         (1) New England Confederation, 1643
         (2) Overthrow of Andros and Nicholson, 1689
         (3) The Albany Plan, 1754
         (4) Military co-operation of the colonies, 1754–83
            (*a*) The French and Indian War
            (*b*) The Revolutionary War

(5) Revolutionary assemblies
(a) Stamp Act Congress
(b) First and Second Continental Congresses

2. The Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, May 25, 1787–September 17, 1787
a) Conditions leading up to the Constitutional Convention
(1) The National Domain
(2) Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation
(3) Growing demand for a stronger central government
(4) Preliminary conventions
(a) Mount Vernon Conference, 1785
(b) Annapolis Convention, 1786
b) Work of the Convention
(1) Personnel
(2) Procedure
(3) Problems and their solution; the "Three Compromises"

III. The New Constitution
1. Its ratification
a) Parties
b) Leaders
c) The Federalist papers
2. Its character
a) Blending of two colonial traditions
(1) Colonial individualism
(2) Colonial co-operation
b) Safeguards
(1) Prohibitions on states and nation
(2) The supreme court
c) Elements of permanence
(1) Flexibility of language
(2) Implied powers
(3) Amendments
(4) System of checks and balances
3. Scope of its powers
a) Powers of central government
(1) President
(2) Congress
(3) Courts
b) Powers of states

PROBLEMS FOCUSING ON THE UNDERSTANDING INVOLVED IN THE UNIT

1. What were the basic weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation? Give illustrations from the history of the Articles in practice.

2. How did the national spirit express itself during the Colonial period, and why? What does this have to do with making of the Constitution?

3. What conditions finally led to the calling of the Constitutional Convention?

4. What were the great problems of the Convention and how were they solved?

5. What are the fundamental elements of greatness in the Constitution?

6. How did the Constitution remedy the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation?

7. What were the two fundamental traditions upon which the Constitution was built? Explain their origin and show how they were written into the structure of the Constitution.

PROJECTS

1. Shay's Rebellion
2. The Barbary pirates
3. The "National Domain" and the Northwest Ordinance
4. The English colonial policy
5. George III
6. The New England Confederation, 1643
7. The Albany Plan
8. Washington and the making of the Constitution
9. The Federalist papers
10. Committees of correspondence

MAPS

1. The thirteen colonies and their western claims. The National Domain.

2. Show by use of different colors the various disputes between states during the Confederation.

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UNIT V. TESTING THE CONSTITUTION

PRESENTATION

The complete breakdown of law and order under the Articles of Confederation was a salutary experience for the thirteen colonies whose independence had been so dearly won after six years of costly and anxious warfare. It brought them face to face with the fundamental political principle that a nation to enjoy the greatest happiness and prosperity at home and respect abroad must build up for itself an adequate government. Perhaps nowhere in history do we find a more perfect example of the meaning of this principle than in the experiences of the United States under the Constitution. From 1789 to the present, the story has been one of almost unbroken progress, until today the United States finds herself, undoubtedly, the most prosperous and powerful nation on the face of the earth.

The question naturally arises at this point as to what constitutes an adequate government. While opinions may differ on this question, it would seem safe to assert that an adequate government for a democratic society must fulfil at least three conditions. First, it must be in accord with the basic traditions of the people. Note, for example, the failure of the first French republic which had nothing in common with the experiences of the French people; or again, the return to traditional autocratic ideals in Italy through Fascism. Second, it must guarantee to a reasonable degree, the protection of life, liberty, and property without developing into license. Failure to meet this condition has brought unending misery to the Mexican people. And finally, it must have within itself such elements of permanence as will make adjustment to changing conditions possible. It was the lack of such elements that forced the fathers of the Constitution to discard completely the Articles of Confederation and to create an entirely new government.

The continued and unquestioned success of the Constitution, in

the face of nearly 150 years of almost unparalleled difficulties, may be attributed, in a large measure, to the fact that it was built up on these three principles. Its conformity to the traditions of the people is apparent. Its provision for a strong central government strictly limited to the handling of problems beyond the realm of adequate solution by the states is a product of the tradition of periodic co-operation of the colonies throughout the Colonial era; and its recognition of the sovereignty of the individual states in all fields of action not specifically placed under national control is a conscious expression of the spirit of local independence which grew out of England's failure to develop a constructive colonial policy. To safeguard this division of powers between the states and the nation, prohibitions were placed on both for the purpose of making still more specific their respective fields of action, and the Supreme Court was given sole control over disputes which might arise between them. Again, when the first ten amendments were added to the Constitution, it gave to the people of the United States, for all time, that protection of life, liberty, and property, which had been the heritage of Englishmen since the days of the Magna Carta. And, finally, the genius of the makers of the Constitution was, perhaps, nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the provisions which they made for the permanence of this instrument of government. For through the flexibility of the language of the Constitution they made possible the utmost expansion of the *organization* of the government; through the implied-powers clause, they made possible the widest interpretation of the *powers* of the government; and through the amending power—not too difficult, nor on the other hand too easy of accomplishment—they anticipated all possible alterations in the *structure* of the government that time and changing conditions might demand.

With the Constitution made and ratified, the colonies had taken their first great step toward an ordered existence. Now the first question was whether this government would successfully pass through the tests which every government must inevitably encounter; for any government, no matter how scientifically constructed, must demonstrate beyond question its power to command respect

abroad, its power to command respect at home, and finally its power to build up national consciousness. History furnishes us many examples of governments which have ultimately broken down because they have failed to meet one or more of these tests. Take, for example, France of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nobody will question the fact that she met the first two tests thoroughly. But when the French people finally developed national consciousness during the eighteenth century under the leadership of their intellectuals, they quickly overthrew the government which had dominated them since the days of Hugh Capet. Or again, take the case of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. With respect undermined at home through the refusal of her citizens to serve in her armies, and with respect destroyed abroad by the success of the Goths against her supposedly invincible legions, how quickly were her territories in the west overrun by the teeming hordes of barbarians.

That the Constitution has met these tests completely and successfully is amply demonstrated by the position which the United States holds today among the great powers of the world, by the respect of the American people for their institutions, and by their unquestioned loyalty to her ideals. Any failures in the functioning of the Constitution have been due to inadequate leadership and unformed public opinion rather than to any weakness in the Constitution itself.

The history of the Constitution in practice in the field of foreign relations richly illustrates the extent to which America has been able to build up respect abroad. The Constitution has given the government unquestioned control over every type of foreign problem. Nor has this respect on the part of foreign nations been based entirely on fear of the power of the United States. Idealism has, with few exceptions, dominated our dealings with other nations. How, otherwise, can be explained the long continued acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine in the face of our palpable military and naval impotence down to the time of the War with Spain, or the part which the United States has been asked to play in the solution of the complex reparations problems? Furthermore, if foreign

nations have ever doubted the ability of the United States to protect her interests, such doubts were certainly dissipated during the world-war.

When the Constitution was put into operation in 1789, few people dreamed of the momentous changes that were to take place in the America of the next hundred years. Yet the Constitution has never faltered in its task of meeting and adequately solving these unexpected problems. With an almost uncanny foresight the framers of the Constitution had provided for every contingency. A government originally designed to meet the needs of a comparatively simple agricultural society has been transformed by powers inherent within itself to meet the demands of a complex industrial organization. With one exception, when a long and terrible civil war was necessary, these changes have been brought about by easy legislative processes. And today the Constitution stands unchallenged by its own people, more highly respected perhaps, than any other government on the face of the earth.

When one looks back to the period of the Confederation and realizes how weak the spirit of nationalism was at that time, one marvels at the tremendous national consciousness that has been built up under the Constitution. This spirit of unity has not been obtained, however, without a struggle. Three great barriers had to be met and overcome in the process. The first of these, which we shall call the European stereotype, developed in connection with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. During this period the sympathies of the country were divided between England and France. Under the Articles of Confederation, nothing short of complete social disintegration would have resulted from such a situation. The War of 1812, however, brought to an end this menace to our unity, and with it the first period of intense nationalism characterized by the issuing of the Monroe Doctrine. Before we were well started on the road to an unprecedented prosperity under the impetus of this new nationalism, the second barrier to the growth of national consciousness reared itself; that of sectionalism, a product of the tariff and slavery problems. While the Civil War broke down the political issues involved, it took years of railroad-

building and economic prosperity in all parts of the country to destroy completely this sectional divergence and revive that national spirit which was inherent in the conceptions of Webster, Marshall, and Lincoln that the Constitution is not a compact of the states, as was the case under the Articles, but rather an agreement of the people. While divisions of interests exist today, on the one hand between the farmers and the manufacturers, and on the other between capitalists and laborers, it must be clearly noted that they represent group-divisions and are not in any true sense of the word sectional. Finally, the world-war revealed to us the last of these barriers, that of racial divergence. While our entrance into the world-war did much to check this menace to our nationalism, and while the position of world-leadership which the United States has attained since the world-war has acted as a centripetal force in building up patriotism in these diverse racial elements, it remained for the immigration bill passed by Congress in 1924 to lay the real foundation for the ultimate destruction of the last barrier to an enduring unity.

With a government founded on sound principles, and tested by nearly 150 years of unprecedented experiences, the United States stands forth today as the most prosperous, the most powerful and the most unified nation to be found anywhere in the world, an indestructible monument to the creators of the Constitution from which has come this greatness.

ASSIMILATIVE MATERIAL

I. The Constitution as an adequate government
   1. Conformity to tradition
      a) National aspects
      b) Federal aspects
      c) Structural safeguards
         (1) Prohibitions on states and nation
         (2) Control of Supreme Court over disputes between states and nation
   2. Protection of life, liberty, and property—the first ten amendments
   3. Elements of permanence
      a) Flexibility of language in relation to expansion of the *organization* of the government
      b) Implied powers clause as a means of expanding the *powers* of the government
      c) The amending power as a means of changing the *structure* of the government

II. The Constitution tested
   1. Building up respect abroad—the Constitution in practice in the field of foreign relations
      a) Provisions of Constitution governing foreign relations
         (1) Powers of the president
            (*a*) Treaties
            (*b*) Commander-in-chief of military forces; unity of control
         (2) Powers of Congress
            (*a*) Maintenance of military forces
            (*b*) Control over state militia
            (*c*) Taxation and borrowing-power
         (3) Prohibitions on states
      b) Foreign problems under the Constitution settled by:
         (1) Diplomacy
            (*a*) Rush-Bagot Treaty, 1817
            (*b*) The Floridas, 1819

(*c*) Maine boundary; Webster—Ashburton Treaty, 1842
(*d*) Oregon boundary, 1818, 1846
(*e*) Alaska boundary, 1903
(*f*) Spain and the Southwest; Pinckney Treaty, 1795
(*g*) Samoan Island episode, 1872–99; Blaine
(*h*) "Open Door" policy in China, 1900; John Hay
(*i*) Panama Canal episode
(*j*) Russo-Japanese War; Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905; Roosevelt
(*k*) Episodes growing out of Monroe Doctrine: Maximilian in Mexico, 1861–67; Venezuela boundary dispute–Cleveland, 1895; Venezuela debt dispute–Roosevelt, 1902; Santo Domingo episode–Roosevelt, 1905; the Mexican problem

(2) Arbitration
(*a*) Alabama claims, 1871–72
(*b*) Bering Sea controversy, 1892

(3) War
(*a*) Barbary pirates; Jefferson
(*b*) "John Adams' War" with France
(*c*) War of 1812
(*d*) Mexican War
(*e*) Spanish-American War, 1898
(*f*) World-war

2. Building up respect at home—the Constitution in practice in the field of domestic affairs

a) Its power to meet changing conditions

(1) Flexibility of language in relation to organization of the
(*a*) Executive department
(*b*) Legislative department
(*c*) Judiciary department

(2) The implied-powers clause; its historical development
(*a*) Hamilton's national bank
(*b*) The purchase of Louisiana
(*c*) The Interstate Commerce Act

(3) The amending power
(a) The "Bill of Rights"; first ten amendments
(b) Clarifying the Constitution; eleventh and twelfth amendments
(c) The slavery amendments: the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments
(d) Changes made necessary by industrial expansion: the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth amendments
(4) The Supreme Court
(a) Its powers
(b) Influence of its great jurists

b) Its power to enforce laws
(1) The nullification and secession movements
(2) Administration of civil and criminal justice

c) Its power to handle interstate affairs
(1) The Granger laws, and the Interstate Commerce Act
(2) The Sherman Anti-Trust Act
(3) Disputes between states in the Supreme Court

d) Its control over anarchy within states
(1) The Whisky Rebellion
(2) The railroad strike, 1877
(3) The Pullman strike, 1894

3. Building up national consciousness
a) Breaking down the European stereotype—the War of 1812 and after
(1) The War of 1812, a turning-point
(2) Evidences of the existence of national consciousness, 1816–24
(3) Expression of national consciousness; The Monroe Doctrine, 1823

b) Breaking down sectional divergence—The Civil War and after
(1) Influence and conceptions of Webster, Marshall, and Lincoln
(2) Railroad-building
(3) Diversification of economic life in all sections of the country

(4) Growth of the Great West
(5) Entrance upon the world stage

c) Breaking down racial divergence—the world-war and after
(1) Lessons of the world-war—revelation of racial distinctions
(2) Position of world leadership after the war—a centripetal force
(3) Immigration legislation; immigration bill of 1924
(4) Overwhelming victory of Coolidge in 1924; compare election of Monroe in 1816

PROBLEMS FOCUSING ON THE UNDERSTANDING INVOLVED IN THE UNIT

1. Discuss the Constitution as an adequate government for the American people.

2. Show clearly why the three following factors should be kept in mind in applying and interpreting the various tests of the Constitution: (1) the inherent strength of the Constitution, (2) the leadership involved in its application, and (3) public opinion.

3. Pick out and discuss typical episodes in our foreign relations that display the following characteristics: (1) respect based upon fear of our power, (2) respect based upon recognition of our fairness, and (3) respect based upon both of the foregoing qualities.

4. What various interpretations has the United States given to the Monroe Doctrine? What episodes illustrate these interpretations? Does the acceptance of these interpretations by foreign powers indicate a well-developed respect for the United States? Explain.

5. Explain clearly how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation in relation to domestic problems were corrected in the Constitution.

6. Explain the meaning of the expression "flexibility of language," and show how the flexibility of the language of the Constitution has made possible the expansion of the organization of the government to meet changing conditions.

7. What is meant by "implied powers"? What specific powers of the Constitution were used in connection with the implied-powers clause to develop each of the following: (1) Hamilton's National Bank, (2) custom houses, (3) light houses, (4) mints, (5) acquisition of the Danish West Indies, (6) Interstate Commerce Act, and (7) Sherman Anti-Trust Act?

8. What part did John Marshall play in making it possible for the Constitution to meet changing conditions? Illustrate.

9. Discuss the proposition that it would be a bad policy to make it either too easy or too hard to amend the Constiution.

10. In what respects are the eleventh and twelfth amendments similar? Does the fact that there are no more amendments like them indicate any special quality of excellence in the Constitution? Explain.

11. Out of what conditions did the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments grow? Do you think that the men who made the Constitution could have anticipated the contingency that made these amendments necessary?

12. Show how each of the last four amendments was made necessary by the industrial expansion of the United States.

13. What was the historical origin of the nullification and secession theories, and why did they constitute a barrier to the proper enforcement of laws?

14. How does the fact that, as a last resort, states settle their disputes before the Supreme Court of the United States represent supreme respect for the Constitution?

15. On the basis of what power did the United States government interfere in the Pullman strike? Explain.

16. What is the meaning of "national consciousness"? What three important barriers against its development have existed under the Constitution, and how has each been broken down?

17. Discuss briefly the proposition that the Constitution has proved itself an adequate government for the people of the United States.

PROJECTS

1. Significance of growth of Fascism in Europe
2. Danger signals in American democracy
3. Compulsory public education as a factor in democracy
4. The prohibition question as a test of the Constitution
5. The United States Mexican policy
6. The adequacy of the French government in the eighteenth century
7. The Supreme Court in American history
8. Washington and the Constitution
9. Lincoln and the Constitution
10. Contributions of James J. Hill to the development of national consciousness

MAPS

1. Locate on map of Western Hemisphere episodes growing out of the Monroe Doctrine.

2. Indicate on map of North America the boundary disputes of the United States from 1783 to 1925. (Use two devices, one to indicate disputes settled by diplomacy, the other to indicate disputes settled by war.)

3. Show on map of the United States the routes of the great transcontinental railroads.

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UNIT VI. THE INDUSTRIALIZING OF AMERICAN LIFE

PRESENTATION

A proper understanding of America's history would be incomplete without an understanding of how her life and institutions have been affected by the Industrial Revolution. This revolution, which started in England in the early eighteenth century, and which has since penetrated every part of the civilized world, was an inevitable consequence of the Renaissance. The driving forces, such as curiosity, romance and adventure, and impatience, which have always dominated mankind in periods of great creative expression, were present in the Renaissance in an unusually intense form. It was these forces which gave us, when the age was young, new types of literature, astounding innovations in all fields of science, a new technique in painting, far reaching geographical discoveries, and a revolution in religion. In the field of economic production, however, the age-old hand methods proved adequate for the moment. But when, in the eighteenth century, the demand for English-manufactured textiles began to exceed the productive possibilities of the old hand methods, the resourcefulness and inventiveness of the age brought about a revolution in the methods of production which has completely transformed the life of the modern world. This change from hand production to machine production is known as the "Industrial Revolution."

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the English colonies gave but little attention to the development of manufacturing. This was due, in part, to the mercantile policy of England, but, in a larger measure, to the fact that manufactured goods could be imported more cheaply than they could be made in the New World. When, in the nineteenth century, the new nation was forced into manufacturing as a result of the Napoleonic wars which temporarily interrupted the easy flow of commodities from Eng-

land, the American mentality displayed an unusual ingenuity in the field of invention.

This ingenuity is to be explained, perhaps, by the special character of the immigration. From the beginning, the chief migrants who came to the New World were the progressives of Europe. Keen, restless, alert, they overcame the obstacles of their new environment and laid the foundation of a great nation. As a result of their own special characteristics, and of the new and difficult problems which they had to solve, they developed within themselves, to an unusual degree, all those creative forces which had dominated the Renaissance. Nor was the genius of these people restricted to the field of pure invention alone. It was also characterized, to a notable degree, by the quality of practicality. While Americans have brought into existence many basic inventions, more, perhaps, than any other single nation, yet their ability to seize upon ideas and turn them to practical uses has been one of their greatest contributions to the progress of the modern world. Note, for example, the development of the vast rubber industry from the invention of the vulcanizing process, and the standardized clothing production of today from the invention of the sewing machine. Or consider the immeasurable additions to the comfort and amusement of the world that have come from the practical brain of Edison.

The Industrial Revolution had its beginnings in America during the period of the Napoleonic wars. The increasing shipping risks; the mounting costs of English manufactured goods, resulting from the long continued European wars; and the final stoppage of commercial relations with England during the War of 1812, forced America into the field of production. From that time the growth of manufacturing was rapid. Before the Civil War was over, factories had sprung up everywhere in the East and Middle West. Many of the great inventions such as the sewing machine, the vulcanizing process, the McCormick reaper, and the use of anthracite coal in the making of steel—all of which have made possible some of our greatest modern industries—had come into existence. The industries of this period were built up largely by

private individuals and were carried on by purely competitive methods. After the Civil War a complete revolution in business methods took place. Great corporations or trusts doing business on a quasi-monopolistic basis superseded the "Captains of Industry." Inventions unparalleled in the history of mankind appeared and were turned to the practical uses of humanity by the genius of the American people. The years since the Civil War may, perhaps, be called the truly American period of the Industrial Revolution. During this period America has undoubtedly contributed more to the mechanical advancement of the world than any other nation.

While America was still fundamentally an agricultural nation at the time of the Civil War, signs everywhere were pointing to a new order of things. The influence of the Civil War, the rapid filling up of the agricultural frontier, the continued discovery of new resources, the invention of new mechanical devices—all these have rapidly transformed the economic life of America until today she stands forth as one of the greatest industrial nations of the world. From a nation of 5,000,000 people in 1800, 90 per cent of whom were living on small farms, she has grown into a gigantic nation of over 100,000,000 people, of whom more than 50 per cent are living in cities. A new social order has come into existence. Problems of union and liberty have been superseded by the more prosaic issues of an industrial and economic nature. The romance of the frontier has disappeared.

The influences of the Industrial Revolution upon the life of America today are many and difficult to estimate. They constitute, in fact, the very essence of our complex civilization. In the economic field the Industrial Revolution has revolutionized transportation, thereby making possible the development of our extensive resources; it has given us our vast manufacturing industries built upon the basis of standardized production; it has brought an incredible expansion of business founded upon sound currency and credit standards; and by the invention of the reaper and binder, gang plow and power-driven machinery, it has revolutionized agriculture in such a way as to make possible the feeding of our expanding industrial populations. In the social field it has brought

the enormous concentration of population in the industrial centers; it has been responsible, through the appeal of high wages, for a new type of immigration with its attendant problem of assimilation; it has given us a universally higher standard of living than exists anywhere else in the world; and finally it has intensified the importance of compulsory mass-education as a fundamental element in the continuation of our democracy. In the political field, it has introduced new problems of taxation, such as the protective tariff and the graduated income tax; by expanding our trade and by bringing us our insular possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific, it has taken us into the field of imperialism and international politics; and as a result of its encouragement of big business and of transportation on a national scale, it has greatly enlarged the powers of the central government through the use of the implied-powers clause and the amending power. Thus has the small, impotent, provincial America of the days of Washington and Jefferson been transformed into the rich and powerful America of today.

ASSIMILATIVE MATERIAL

I. Origin of the Industrial Revolution—a product of the Renaissance
   1. Qualities of the Renaissance mind
      a) Primary
         (1) Curiosity
         (2) Romance and adventure
         (3) Impatience
         (4) Power to grasp big conceptions
      b) Secondary
         (1) Resourcefulness
         (2) Inventiveness
   2. Prophetic expressions of Renaissance mentality
      a) New literary types—the novel
      b) Copernican conception of the universe
      c) Geographical discoveries
      d) The principle of perspective in painting
      e) Gothic architecture
      f) New musical instruments—the pianoforte and pipe-organ
      g) Intricate musical forms
      h) New Mathematics—analytical geometry, calculus, etc.
   3. Its beginnings in England in the eighteenth century
      a) Expansion of the textile industry
      b) Basic inventions
         (1) Power loom
         (2) Spinning jenny
         (3) Steam engine

II. The origin and development of the Industrial Revolution in the United States
   1. Particular ingenuity of American mentality
      a) Special character of immigration
      b) American environment
   2. Periods in the development of the Revolution
      a) Preparatory period, 1789–1816. Influence of Napoleonic wars
         (1) Increase of shipping risks

(2) Methods used in the defense of neutrality
(3) Increasing prices of English manufactured goods
(4) War of 1812
(5) Development of policy of tariff protection

b) Beginnings of Industrializing Process, 1816–60—age of Steam
(1) Characteristics of period
(*a*) The Captains of Industry
(*b*) Competitive business methods
(2) Basic inventions
(*a*) Application of steam to purposes of transportation: the steam boat, the locomotive
(*b*) The sewing machine
(*c*) The McCormick reaper
(*d*) The vulcanizing process
(*e*) The telegraph
(*f*) The rotary press
(*g*) The Atlantic cable
(*h*) Use of anthracite coal in the making of steel

c) Period of capitalistic organization, 1860–1925—Age of Electricity
(1) Characteristics of period
(*a*) Corporations
(*b*) Monopolistic business methods
(2) Basic inventions
(*a*) Edison's electrical inventions
(*b*) The kodak
(*c*) The flying machine
(*d*) Moving pictures

III. Influences of Industrial Revolution in American life
1. Economic
a) Credit and crises
b) Standardized production
(1) Packing industry
(2) Automobile industry (Ford)
(3) Architecture
(*a*) Skyscrapers
(*b*) Bungalows

c) Currency—the gold standard
d) The change in the balance between manufacturing and agriculture—influence of the McCormick reaper
e) Transportation
f) Conservation
g) Irrigation

2. Social
a) Concentration of population
b) A new type of immigration
c) Higher standard of living
d) Problems of labor and capital
e) The question of public morality—the civil service
f) Prohibition movement
g) Mass education
h) Emancipation of women

3. Political
a) Taxation
(1) Protective Tariff
(2) Graduated income tax
b) Imperialism
c) Women's suffrage
d) Increase in powers of the national government through:
(1) The wide use of the implied-powers clause
(2) The last four amendments

PROBLEMS FOCUSING ON THE UNDERSTANDING INVOLVED IN THE UNIT

1. How do you explain the statement that the Industrial Revolution was the inevitable consequence of the Renaissance?

2. Show how the inventive genius of Europeans expressed itself during the Renaissance. Illustrate your answer.

3. What characteristics of the Renaissance mind are indicated by the following: (1) the development of the novel, (2) the Copernican conception of the universe, (3) Gothic architecture, (4) perspective in painting?

4. How can the exceptional resourcefulness of the American people be accounted for? Illustrate your answer carefully.

5. How do you account for the constantly increasing risks to American shipping from 1800 to 1816? What part did these risks play in the development of manufacturing in America?

6. Discuss in detail how American infant industries survived English competition after the War of 1812.

7. What has been the significance of the following American inventions in the progress of the Industrial Revolution: (1) the sewing machine, (2) the vulcanizing process, (3) the telegraph, (4) the rotary press?

8. What were the outstanding characteristics of the growth of the industrial organization in America between 1816 and 1860? Illustrate your answer by a brief discussion of the development of one industry.

9. How did the whole character of the industrial organization change after the Civil War? Illustrate by the discussion of one industry.

10. What outstanding problems of American life have been created by the Industrial Revolution? Explain.

11. How has the industrial growth of the United States since the Civil War particularly affected the immigration problem?

12. How has the Industrial Revolution influenced the Constitution?

13. Discuss the proposition that it would be impossible to understand American life today without understanding the Industrial Revolution.

PROJECTS

1. The evolution of the steam engine
2. A "Captain of Industry"
3. The vulcanizing process and its influence on modern life
4. Modern electrical inventions
5. The radio
6. Standardization in modern life
7. James J. Hill
8. Road-building today
9. Irrigation projects
10. The importance of steel in modern life
11. The movie in modern life
12. Organized charity
13. Prison reform

MAPS

1. Locate important mining, manufacturing, and agricultural centers of the United States. (Use three different devices.)

2. Show important irrigation and conservation projects of the United States.

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APPENDIX

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I.—The style of this Confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ART. II.—Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress Assembled.

ART. III.—The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever.

ART. IV.—The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States or either of them. If any person guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State shall flee from justice and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his of-

fense. Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ART. V.—For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. Each State shall maintain its own delegates in any meeting of the States and while they act as members of the Committee of the States. In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote. Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ART. VI.—No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States, in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States, in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States, in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State or its trade, nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use in public stores a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States, in Congress assembled, can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States, in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States, in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States, in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

ART. VII.—When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of Colonel shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ART. VIII.—All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States, in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for

paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States, in Congress assembled.

ART. IX.—The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article; of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importion of any species of goods or commodities whatever; of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land and water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise be'tween two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court of hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike but one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as

a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office, appointing all

officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers, appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "A Committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled; but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter

into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ART. X.—The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ART. XI.—Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ART. XII.—All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ART. XIII.—Every State shall abide by the determinations of the

United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify, the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the Articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania the ninth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

On the part & behalf of the State of New Hampshire.

Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Junr.
August 8, 1778.

On the part and behalf of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

John Hancock, Francis Dana,
Samuel Adams, James Lovell,
Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Holten.

On the part and behalf of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

William Ellery, John Collins.
Henry Marchant,

On the part and behalf of the State of Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
OLIVER WOLCOTT,
TITUS HOSMER,
ANDREW ADAMS.

On the part and behalf of the State of New York.

JAS. DUANE,
FRA. LEWIS,
WM. DUER,
GOUV. MORRIS.

On the part and in behalf of the State of New Jersey, Novr. 26, 1778.

JNO. WITHERSPOON,
NATHL. SCUDDER.

On the part and behalf of the State of Pennsylvania.

ROBT. MORRIS,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,
JONA. BAYARD SMITH,
WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSEPH REED, 22d July, 1778.

On the part & behalf of the State of Delaware.

THO. M'KEAN, Feby. 12, 1779.
JOHN DICKINSON, May 5th, 1779,
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

On the part and behalf of the State of Maryland.

JOHN HANSON,
March 1, 1781.
DANIEL CARROLL,
Mar. 1, 1781.

On the part and behalf of the State of Virginia.

RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN BANISTER,
THOMAS ADAMS,
JNO. HARVIE,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

On the part and behalf of the State of No. Carolina.

JOHN PENN, July 21st, 1778.
CORNS. HARNETT,
JNO. WILLIAMS.

On the part & behalf of the State of South Carolina.

HENRY LAURENS,
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON,
JNO. MATHEWS,
RICHD. HUTSON,
THOS. HAYWARD, JUNR.

On the part & behalf of the State of Georgia.

JNO. WALTON, 24th July, 1778.
EDWD. TELFAIR,
EDWD. LANGWORTHY.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to remove from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to he discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a

tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration thereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office or profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, amolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Represenative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]*

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

* This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the amendments.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.

The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the

appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State;[1] between citizens of different

[1] This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See eleventh article of the amendments.

States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation

therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made,

under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from VIRGINIA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK—Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY—William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him;

to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person

having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number

of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in supressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided,* That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIX.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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